

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The **American Teacher**

THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

*To live for common ends is to be common.
The highest faith makes still the highest man;
For we grow like the things our souls believe,
And rise or sink as we aim high or low.
No mirror shows such likeness of the face
As faith we live by of the heart and mind.
We are in very truth that which we love;
And love, like noblest deeds, is born of faith.
The lover and the hero reason not,
But they believe in what they love and do.
All else is accident—this is the soul
Of life, and lifts the whole man to itself,
Like a keynote, which running through all sounds,
Upbears them all in perfect harmony.*

—Bishop Spalding.

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The Time to Strike

By WILLIAM HERBERT CARRUTH

My God, I am weary of waiting for the year of jubilee;
I know that the cycle of man is a moment only to Thee;
They have held me back with preaching what the patience of God is like,
But the world is weary of waiting; will it never be time to strike?

The hearts that kindled with mine are caught in the selfsame net;
One waits to master the law, though his heartstrings vibrate yet;
And one is heaping up learning, and many are heaping up gold,
And some are fierce in the forum, while slowly we all wax old.

When my hot heart rose in rebellion at the wrongs my fellows bore,
It was "Wait until prudent saving has gathered you up a store;"
And "Wait till a higher station brings value in men's eyes;"
And "Wait till the gray-streaked hair shall argue your counsel wise."

The bitter lesson of patience I have practised, lo! these years;
Can it be, what has passed for prudence was prompted by my fears?
Can I doubt henceforth in my choosing, if such a choice I must have,
Between being wise and craven or being foolish and brave?

Whenever the weak and weary are ridden down by the strong,
Whenever the voice of honor is drowned by the howling throng,
Whenever the right pleads clearly while the lords of life are dumb,
The times of forbearance are over, and the time to strike is come.

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Two Dollars a Year

Employment Contracts and Free Institutions

Address by JOHN P. FREY, Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, Representing WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labor, Before the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Chicago, Illinois, June 27, 1928

Just before President William Green left to attend the two national conventions in the interest of organized labor, he gave me some positive instructions. One was to convey to you his sincere regret that he could not be with you. He wanted you to know that he considers the work you are doing as important as any which is being accomplished within the great union movement. He wanted to have the pleasure of attending one of your sessions and seeing you at work, and then of conveying to you personally on behalf of the American trade union movement its congratulations upon what you have been able to accomplish in the face of the obstacles that you have encountered almost from the beginning. He had also personally hoped that it would be his privilege, instead of my opportunity, to discuss the subject which is on your minds somewhat as the result of an incident in Seattle, Washington.

I feel, however, that President Green's misfortune in not being able to be here is my very good fortune, because outside of my trade union interest in your organization I have a particular interest in our public school system, one reason being that I was among those Americans who failed to have the opportunity of taking advantage of it because of the necessity of getting enough to keep alive. The second was that since then, coming into contact with the public school system from the outside, I have had some experience as president of a board of education.

I think that before touching upon the subject which is close to my heart tonight, it might be well to say something to revive your own knowledge of the fact, that the American public school system, that is, our free public school system under state direction, is the result of the genius of one or two men, of whom Horace Mann was the principal one, and of the trade union movement between 1825 and 1835.

CHARITY SCHOOLS

The first great accomplishment of the American trade union movement was the establishing of a pub-

lic school system. Previous to that time a wage earner's child went to the so-called charity schools and had the stigma of a charity school scholar placed upon him.

Some years ago I endeavored to study the agitation during that period. I was able to read some of the newspapers of that day and discover the opposition which the trade union movement met with. I found that the clergymen of practically all the religious denominations were opposed to a free public school system. Seemingly they felt that the church had a function to perform which a public school system would interfere with. The principal educators of that period were opposed to it (at least those who were vocal in the matter) on the grounds that it would interfere with the successful practice of that profession to which they had given so many years of their life. Joining in the chorus, singing bass, so to speak, for the quartet, were the manufacturers of that day.

The trade union movement held that the poor man's child was as much entitled to an education as the child of the more well-to-do parents, and then fundamentally they held, in addition, that no country could be safe unless the mass of the people secured an education, that our free institutions could not endure unless the overwhelming majority of the citizens understood them and knew how to protect them.

Ever since that day there has been no organized group in this country which has been more active in the development of our public school system. It was the trade union movement which made attendance to the lower grades compulsory, and our thanks were the charge that we were endeavoring to keep the children from earning a living and being in competition with adults. However, compulsory school attendance became the rule in the majority of the states. Then we went farther and insisted that the children should be supplied with free textbooks in the grade

schools. Perhaps there has been no organized group in the country, until you formed your Federation, that stood so constantly on guard in defending the welfare of the children and seeing that our public school system developed as it should and functioned as was necessary.

While I am on that subject, let me leave this one thought with you. The trade union movement believes that the workers should be efficient, that there is nothing more necessary than that while children are in the formative years they should be taught the lessons which make them competent in industry and commerce. We believe that the public school system should assist in developing the ability that children possess, the intelligence that they have, so that American industry will be truly more efficient than the industry of any other country. But let me add that if what our public school system is to do is merely to make the children of the masses of the people more efficient to produce wealth, and fails to instill the principles in them that should move every American, if it fails to give them the cultural opportunities so that life will mean something for them a little more than earning a livelihood and being efficient, if all our public school system is to do is to make us more efficient in a material way and the spiritual is left out, then I don't know but that our public school system will do our country more injury in the long run than benefit.

I have some thoughts in mind with which I presume you are much more familiar than I am. You know the influence you have upon the children's minds. They come to you at the kindergarten age and they stay with you until they have left the high school, at least many do. The parents are interested in the mental development of the child, not the knowledge of the three R's that they will acquire, but a knowledge of life as related to the ideals they possess, their knowledge of what they should and should not do, and you have those children many hours during the day. During the other hours while they are awake they should be playing. The probability is that the influence which you have on the child's mind is greater than that of the parents themselves. At least it is equal to that of the parents, so that the interest which the parents should have in you is equally great with the interest that they should have in the welfare of the children, for you very largely are shaping those youthful minds and training them how to think, even more than the parents are.

Someone said very truthfully that if he could write the songs of a country he cared not who made the laws. I think that could be justly paraphrased by saying: Give me the power of selecting the teachers of a country and I care not who its rulers may be. But I am quite conscious from conversations with some of you that you are fully aware of the very responsible part that you are playing, that teaching means much more to you than having a position and drawing a salary.

DENYING RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

One of the things which you teach your children from the beginning is something concerning the institutions of our country. You endeavor to have them understand what liberty is, you endeavor to make them realize that an American is entitled to certain rights because he is a free man, and that with those rights go certain responsibilities. Above all else you try to instill a basic understanding of human liberty and the duties which accompany it. If you are not free yourselves, I would like to know what caliber or quality of freedom you are going to teach to your children? If you tell them that everyone in this country has an equal right with every other citizen and then these pupils learn that it is not true so far as teachers are concerned, that you are not free to do what everybody else can do, I am afraid you will fail to impress upon the minds of your pupils the truths which you think are so important. You teach them something about the Declaration of Independence, and I presume that you explain to them that we are all created equal; that means that there are no special privileges in this country, that every man and woman is born with all of the rights, all of the opportunities, all of the privileges which everyone is entitled to. If these children know that the employers are organized, and the doctors and the lawyers, and all of the professional and business men, that the city considers its chamber of commerce one of its most important institutions, and then they are taught that teachers are unable to enjoy the right of association as American citizens, but can only do so through the consent of a board of education, you will create a question in the minds of those children as to whether the country is truly as free as you have tried to teach them that it is.

That leads me to a question which is in our minds, and also the mind of the trade union movement. Some of the boards of education in this country have been the most progressive bodies in the community and have done as much to raise the standard of think-

ing and education as the teachers themselves. In fact, I am afraid that there are some teachers in our public schools who are still a trifle old-fashioned in their views, perhaps almost reactionary. But there are boards of education with peculiar views as to their rights and their responsibilities who are decidedly reactionary and who make their influence felt to the detriment of the teachers and to the injury of the pupils in the schools. Those are the boards who arrogate to themselves authority which should never be placed in their hands. They are men, sometimes women, who believe that for some peculiar reason the teachers should not have any organization of their own, that while they are competent to do the thinking so far as the education of the children is concerned, they are not competent to do any thinking so far as their own interests and their own welfare is affected. So you have recently come into contact with the same problem which has faced the American trade union movement for some time.

One group of teachers, those in Seattle, have been told that they must sign a contract in which they surrender their right to organization as teachers in order to retain their position as teachers in the schools of the city. Your right to organize has been made not to depend upon any guarantee of the constitution which there may be, but upon the consent of a board of education.

LIBERTY LARGELY THEORY

Just so soon as any group in this country presumes to tell others that their right to organize is not an inherent right, but is one which depends upon the consent of those in authority, just that moment we have closed the doors to liberty. Liberty, like religion, may be made nothing more than a beautiful theory. The only liberty that I know of, worth a continental, is that which is put to use, and the only people who can understand human liberty are those who apply it in their daily affairs at all times and under all circumstances. Those who enjoy liberty are not those who believe they are entitled to it, but those who put it into practice.

You are much more familiar with the growth of human liberty than I am because you are professional educators, but you know the story; the slaves and the serfs did not have any voice in making the laws which created and maintained them as slaves and serfs; the masters made all the laws, and little vestiges of that same point of view are found in our own country from time to time.

There is an old common law, that of master and

servant, which was written into the common law of the mother country, not by the servants and not by the masters co-operating with the servants, but by the masters themselves because they wanted the law to give them a guarantee of domination over those that they employed and who worked for them.

One of the elements of our common law of contract, so far as the industrial relationship is concerned, is the result of the laws passed at that period and the construction of these laws by the courts.

Liberty has been very largely theory. Apparently so far in the world's history, liberty has always been some miles ahead of practice and sometimes a number of leagues. It is in connection with this aspect of liberty and the common law of contracts that we are particularly interested as trade unionists in that nondescript which has been called the yellow-dog contract, which compels anyone working for a living to surrender the right to organize in order to retain or to secure a position.

There is nothing the matter with our American institutions. I am firmly convinced that they are the most splendid which any people have ever had; but there have been in our country, and I think we have today, legal minds who have been able so to twist and turn our free institutions that the conditions they accomplish conform more or less to the medieval conception of individual rights, and some of the ablest legal minds in this country have been retained for that very purpose.

There is probably nothing more important to you as teachers than your right to associate yourselves together for lawful purposes. I don't see how our civilization could exist without this right to voluntary organization. I don't see how the business men of a community would be able to look after their legitimate interests unless they had the right to form chambers of commerce where they could meet for the purpose of taking up those questions which affected them directly as business men.

ORGANIZATION RIGHT VITAL

I don't see how the clergymen could carry on their work unless they associated themselves through organization. I don't see how the professional men, the scientific men, could carry on their work unless they were organized. It is through these voluntary organizations that our civilization is carried on, much more than by the law of the land. It is through these voluntary organizations that people are able to inform themselves intelligently upon the problems of their group, to map out policies and programs which it

seems advisable to carry out. Whenever a group is denied this right of voluntary association, it follows that everyone else is in a position to take advantage of them if he so desires; it also means that they are no longer in a position to protect their own welfare, but must depend upon somebody else to do that for them.

The manufacturers of this country are fairly well organized. I presume that taking it by and large, Americans as a whole are as thoroughly organized in voluntary associations as the people of any other country.

What would happen in Houston if suddenly the Republicans were to declare that they alone had the right to have a political party and denied the Democrats the privilege of having a party unless they pledged themselves to vote the Republican ticket? What would become of the merchants in a city if the people suddenly decided that a chamber of commerce was an unhealthy institution and that any merchant who was a member of it would be boycotted and they would no longer purchase his wares? Experience has taught us not only through our free institutions, but in every other way, that nothing is much more essential in our civilization, in providing opportunities for us and safeguarding our rights, than the exercise of this basic American right of voluntary association for lawful purposes.

COURT UPHOLDS "YELLOW DOG"

The only groups I know of in this country whose right to associate themselves voluntarily for lawful purposes has been denied are the workers, the trade unionists. Little by little the insidious doctrine has been preached and applied that for some strange reason or other the moment an American citizen becomes a member of a trade union he loses or should forfeit some of his rights as a free man. Throughout the country, and particularly since the war, the so-called yellow-dog contract has been forced upon workmen. The workers have been told that unless they signed them they would be discharged, that unless they signed them they would not be given employment. The most startling, the most disquieting incident in connection with that is that more than one state court and a few federal courts have assisted the employers in carrying this un-American program into effect.

One illustration will do for all of the others which I could burden you with. A few years ago the most complete monopoly that there is in this country, or as complete a monopoly as exists, the United Shoe Machinery Company, desired to de-unionize its ma-

chine shop. The foreman went to all of the machinists, gave them copies of yellow-dog contracts, told them that they must sign them or they would be compelled to discharge them. If the machinists signed those yellow-dog contracts the union they had established for their protection, would vanish into thin air. They went on strike to prevent those contracts from being forced upon them. These men felt that their right to organize was as precious as the employer's right to do the same thing. To prevent their being forced to surrender their union, they went on strike. An injunction was issued restraining them from remaining on strike. The court held that a strike for that purpose was illegal. The case was carried up to the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts and that court upheld the lower court, so that as far as the judicially made law of Massachusetts is concerned, trade union membership is not an inherent right of the citizens of that state, but one which depends upon the employer's consent, and when the employer withholds his consent the courts tell him: "We will add the tremendous influence of our power in helping you to carry out your program."

Now the issue is quite a simple one and a clear one. It is simply this: Have those who work for wages the same rights as Americans as those who occupy themselves in the professions, in industry and in commerce, for profit? Are we to have special privileges and special classes? Are the majority of the people in this country to enjoy the right of association and of action for their own welfare, or are we to permit the growth of the theory that when it comes to those who work for wages or salaries, this right no longer exists, because to organize for the purpose of improving your condition as an employe interferes with somebody else's prospects and somebody else's plans?

What would happen if all of the boards of education should take the same position as the board of education in Seattle, Washington? If all the boards of education where you hold your membership were to present the same form of contract to you and you signed it, instantly the American Federation of Teachers would become merely a matter of history.

In the trade union movement we gradually won our right to organize. We met with the same opposition which you have encountered, but we did not meet with the yellow-dog contract, we merely met with discharge. We believed there was nothing more essential to the welfare of ourselves and our families than exercising this right to organize.

Then came the attorneys' invention of this so-called yellow-dog contract. You are facing that problem today just as we are compelled to face it. So far as the American trade union movement is concerned, we will oppose a yellow-dog contract with the same vigor and determination as we would oppose the effort of a manufacturers' association to establish royalty in this country and a king instead of a president and an elected congress.

At the bottom of everything which we attempt to do, underlying every right which we exercise, is this right to voluntary association for lawful purposes. Take that right away and the wage earner is voiceless, he is the subject of every whim, every caprice, every fad that those who feel they are in control desire to apply.

It seems to me that your organization has a most important duty. There is nothing you can do of more importance as school teachers than to have your pupils understand what is involved in human liberty, what the institutions of our country really are, what the principles are upon which those institutions have been founded. You are the ones more than anybody else who will give these children an understanding of what their rights are and of the responsibilities which go with them. If you should bow the knee to the edict of those who say that because you are teachers the right to organize can be denied to you, then you are no longer deserving of the privilege of instilling thought in any American citizen's child's mind. If you would bow down to that, you would no longer be deserving of the confidence of the wage earners of this country, you would be traitors to the institutions of our land which have made our free public school system a possibility.

PROBLEM AN OLD ONE

Do you realize what it would mean to the thinking children (and you know how keenly those young minds work) if they learned that you had bowed the knee to an edict and had agreed to waive your right to voluntary association, to trade union organization so that you could retain your position as a school teacher? They would lose confidence in you, they would say you had bartered your rights for your job.

You are not the first ones to meet this problem. It has come to you only within recent days. It has been with the American trade union movement for a number of years. We have a campaign which we think will result, which we are confident will result, in legislation which will prevent any further use of or any further application of this so-called yellow-dog

contract. You do not have to appeal to the American Federation of Labor for sympathy so far as the Seattle incident is concerned. You have no reason to depend wholly upon the American Federation of Labor in the contest in which you are now compelled to join. Instead of that, we welcome you to take part in the contest which we are engaged in to make this so-called yellow-dog contract an impossibility in the United States of America. (Applause.)

President Green, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, wanted me to assure you that instead of finding it necessary to apply to him for assistance, I should merely say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that we welcome you to take part in the same contest which we are engaged in ourselves.

This is not the first time that efforts have been made to take men's rights away, and while it has no direct bearing on the yellow-dog contract, yet perhaps indirectly it may leave a happy thought with you, one that will show that the cloud is not without its silver lining. After the Civil war, many Southerners were gravely disturbed over the labor problem. The planters did not intend at that day to go out and plow the fields and hoe them. They wanted the negro to do that, and the negro was now a free man. With this freedom the Southern planters felt that their industry was in very bad straits, but their constitutional lawyers said, "Don't worry, this is not half so bad as it seems. Of course the negro has been given his freedom, but apparently you are not as familiar with the sacred law of contract as you might be. That is your safeguard. It is lawful to contract for labor, and it is lawful to contract for labor under conditions which are as advantageous to the employer as he can get away with. All you need to do to tie the negro to the plantation as effectively as he was before is to enter into a labor contract with him. The negro's emancipation is not altogether an unmixed blessing to the negro. In the past you have had to feed him. Now you can enter into a labor contract which keeps him only so long as you want him, and when he is worn out you don't even have the trouble of giving him a corner and a shed and looking after him until he passes away."

Guided by these constitutional lawyers, whose views were somewhat similar to those of the attorneys for the National Association of Manufacturers, who are largely responsible for the development of the yellow-dog contract idea, the Southerners went to the negroes and said: "Now you work for us and we will pay you wages."

Of course, the negro was very glad of that, but he had insufficient clothing, he had to have food, he was not paid weekly, so he would get food and clothing from the plantation owner and then he would work to pay the debt, and because the plantation owner was a fairly intelligent thinker, the negro was never out of debt, and they had established under a form of labor contract, absolute peonage.

When the people of our country discovered that that was the result of a form of labor contract, the anti-peonage law was enacted by Congress, and every time that this law has come before the United States Supreme Court it has been upheld by a practically unanimous decision. So a labor contract in this country which unduly ties a man to his job, a labor contract which is contrary to public policy, has been declared null and void so far as peonage is concerned.

If those of us who have had a little more opportunity, those of us who have had a training equipping us to work, particularly those who are educators of our youth, are to work under a labor contract which

is contrary to public policy, then I am satisfied that as soon as the American public becomes aware of what has taken place, there will be a volume of indignation as strong, if not stronger than that which swept over the country when the peonage law was enacted by Congress.

I am thankful that this has come along. It is a necessary step in your experience. You, like everyone else, must learn that only those enjoy liberty who have an intelligent knowledge of what liberty means, those only enjoy liberty who fight for it and who exercise it. When you have carried your contest to a successful conclusion (and I know that you will, for no powers can prevail against an enlightened public opinion), when you have won the contest started by the board of education in Seattle, Washington, then you will be better equipped to perform your functions as teachers than you ever have been before, because you will have had a practical experience in the school, the only school where liberty can be truly taught, the school of experience. (Applause.)

The New Menace to Education

Address by DR. JOHN A. LAPP, Marquette University, Local No. 79, Before the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Chicago, Ill., June 27, 1928

The subject of this address is "The New Menace to Education." Perhaps it might be called an old menace in a new form, the menace of the attempt to control schools for the making of public opinion in the interest of a profit-making, private enterprise. The present effort is undoubtedly the most extensive form in which the attempt has been made to control public opinion in our time, if not in any time, namely the attempt on the part of the public utilities to insinuate their propaganda into the schools and colleges of the country and in many and devious ways to get control of the public opinion forming groups and thereby to lay foundations for the continuation of private management of public utilities. This is a plain effort to advance private, profit-making enterprises at the expense of the public.

I have gone through much of the material that has been presented in the Federal Trade Commission's inquiry and I have found a dozen or more different ways in which these ramifications extend to control public opinion. Possibly others will be found as the investigation proceeds. *The first one* of these forms of propaganda is the hiring of college professors to make "impartial" reports adverse to public ownership. Witness the hiring of a Minnesota professor to give

a black eye in a special report to the Ontario Hydro-electric system. A copy of a check for transportation and expenses verifying this fact was published in one of the leading newspapers recently.

It is obvious that a man sent under such circumstances, masquerading as a college professor, can not possibly bring back anything like an impartial report. That is not what he was sent for. It is possible his employers knew what his views were before they sent him. It is possible that he did not stultify himself and that perhaps he gave what he really thought he found. But it was, nevertheless, an effort on the part of a private, profit-making enterprise to conceal itself behind a college professor and give the evidence of academic care to the study that was presented.

The second of the methods is the subsidizing of the writing of text-books favorable to privately owned public utilities and against public ownership, by college professors, thus hiding the power trust behind the gown of a college man, but in effect being no different than if those books were written by a public utilities representative.

I do not know how to express what we should say about a college professor who lends himself to this sort of thing. Perhaps we will need to turn our attention

to college men as much as to the interests that would attempt directly or indirectly to corrupt them.

A *third* method is the inducing of school authorities, local and state, to co-operate in the distribution in the schools of literature sanctifying the privately-owned public utilities. This is quite a universal method, from the evidence that has been brought out before the Federal Trade Commission. There have been attempts to get the local school people to permit the distribution of the literature in the schools, attempts to get them to give a favorable view to the literature, and attempts to get them, on a state-wide scale, to recommend that this literature be distributed. This literature is all very carefully written so as not to make it appear that it is the propaganda of a private interest, some of it is perhaps highly educational, some of it undoubtedly valuable, but carrying within it the seeds of growth in favor of privately-owned utilities and in opposition to public ownership.

Fourth, the hiring of influential educators to make educational talks before teachers' conventions and before normal schools and elsewhere, as evidenced in the disclosures in Missouri just the other day. By the way, you do not get many of these things in a large section of the daily press. There is a strange concealment in the press. This is news, or should be news, by all standards of newspaper management, yet it is not getting into more than a fraction of the newspapers of the country.

An influential educator on the faculty of one of the universities of Missouri was hired by the Public Utilities Association and was paid to give talks to the teachers in training in the normal schools of the state. Expenses and honorariums were paid by the association and the professor presumably delivered the things that he was expected to deliver. This professor denied that he had had his speeches written by the utilities interests, but they served the purpose for which they were bought by the Public Utilities Association. That example is only one of many and we know not how far the ramifications may have gone.

Fifth: Here is one of the methods that really ought to interest us a good deal. This perhaps is even the most influential, at least, immediately influential, of the various ways in which the public utility interests have attempted to get control of educational thought to their own advantage. I have reference to the establishment of bureaus of research under high-sounding names in universities to study utilities problems (sometimes under a different name), and publish reports and books for the benefit of the public as well as

to train research workers and teach the coming college teachers. This is an exhibition of high-minded generosity to our educational institutions. It is magnificent to receive funds for the establishment and financing of a bureau of research. No one can assume, however, that anybody can go into a research bureau of that kind and try to find truth. If one does assume that, he is in need of enlightenment.

Sixth, the paying of expenses of college professors to attend conferences for the purpose of formulating courses of study for utilities under the fostering care of a college professor on leave of absence from his university and in the pay of the utilities interests. The impropriety of this is so obvious that it is strange they attempted it.

Seventh, the retaining of college professors for the purpose of consultation. Here is some of the rawest and crudest stuff I have seen in all my life—Managing Director Aylesworth, of the National Electric Light Association, in 1923, said: "I would advise any manager who lives in a community where there is a college to get the professor of economics interested in your problems. Have him lecture on your subject to his classes. Once in a while, it will pay you to take such men, getting \$500 or \$600 a year, or \$1000 perhaps, and give them a retainer of \$100 or \$200 a year for the privilege of letting you study and consult with them, for how in heaven's name can we do anything in the schools of the country, with the young people growing up, if we have not first sold the idea of education to the college professors?"

That does not come from an obscure person. That is the Managing Director of the National Electric Light Association, making a public statement, asking the managers of the public utilities bureaus to get in touch with the college professors of economics, and especially singling out those in the small colleges getting small salaries who might be influenced by receipt of \$100 or \$200 a year as a retainer. Aside from the propaganda in that, I think educators ought to feel the insult, the deep insult, that is found in those words of the Managing Director of the National Electric Light Association. It is an insult to them, an insult to education, an insult to all educators, to state that they could buy the influence of college professors at \$100 to \$200 a year, plainly for no service on their part, but for the privilege, as was said, of having a chance to consult and study with them in the field of economics.

I don't suppose that has gone very far. I don't know whether this was just a dream on the part of

Mr. Aylesworth or not; I don't believe that many professors of economics have been influenced, and yet they may have been without having any thought of being influenced at all. What is more subtle than being asked to co-operate and study with some man who in the community is an important fellow in the business world? I can imagine a great many college professors being quite flattered by the possibility of sitting down and studying anything with one of the big business men of the town. I trust, however, that this kind of influence has not extended very far. If it has, then we have little hope for freedom anyway. If college professors are what Mr. Aylesworth thinks they are, we might as well give up the business of education as it stands and not attempt to clarify problems any more in the interest of public welfare.

Eighth: Making investigations of text-books to see which ones are safe, and using influence to put out of the schools and keep out of the schools those which do not favor the reasonable point of view of the private utilities, and to put in favorable texts. I do not need to elaborate on this point at all. Every person in this audience, I am sure, has instances in his own experience or observation of efforts of this kind definitely to put out of the schools text-books that take a favorable view of public ownership.

Let me cite one instance of many. A certain book, used in some of the schools in the seventh and eighth grades, made the very innocent statement that it was possible that the railroads (this was written just before the war) would be found unprofitable to private interests and since the public had to have their services, it was conceivable that public ownership of railroads would sometime come as a necessity, just as it had come in the case of highways and some of the other utilities which had to be taken over by the public. Innocent enough, is it not? Not especially radical or dangerous. Did it escape? It did for a while, when people were busy with the war.

When "normalcy" came, a long editorial in one of the leading papers of one of the cities where the book was used, which paper represented private pillage at every stage, cited that as one of the damnable things that were being taught the pupils of that city. In due time, the book was eliminated. That illustration is only one of many that could be presented.

Ninth: Correcting the blunders of the ignorant educators who, of course, know nothing of the practical, very practical, business of running utilities, and therefore put errors into their books; calling attention to the fact that these errors exist; and getting the

authors to remove them from their books. One public utility representative said very naively just recently that it would pay to go back to the authors and let them make some more money by getting them to remove the "mistakes" that were in their text-books concerning public utilities.

Tenth: Pinning the bolshevist label on people who believe in public ownership of public utilities. The declaration went out from headquarters: "When you find anybody who believes in public ownership of municipal utilities, pin the bolshevist label on them." If you want some facts on this, go to the office of the People's Gas & Electric Light Company, here in Chicago. Only a few weeks ago, over the signature of an official of that company, a circular went out all over this state to pin the bolshevist label on people who believe in public ownership of public utilities.

We ought to get to a point after a while when the communistic or bolshevist label would be a joke. I have, for myself, a very effective way of disposing of the labellers. I have a new system of mental testing. Not being scientific enough to understand the old, not having enough experience to use it, I couldn't get the I. Q. of people very exactly. So I worked out a test of my own, and its results are quite perfect so far as it goes. Try it on your friends and see if it doesn't work. If a man calls me a socialist because I believe in municipal ownership of waterworks, or social insurance, old age pensions, and things of that sort, I classify him in the mental age of eleven years. If he calls me a communist for that reason, I classify him in the mental age of nine. If he calls me a bolshevist for that reason, I classify him in the mental age of seven. You will be surprised at the exact measurements I get of a whole lot of people by this method.

I ran across some bolshevist label pinners some time ago and there is where I got the test; I worked it on them. I think I was called a socialist that time because I believed in the McNary-Haugen bill. There being no other way out of the thing, I got rather savage and asked these men why they presumed to know anything anyway. I said, "You don't read anything." I didn't know them, I had never met them before, but I said, "I know your type, you don't read *anything* on modern social and economic problems. You haven't read a book in the last five years on any modern social or economic problem."

They laughed, and I demanded the name of a book; it wasn't forthcoming. They couldn't name a book they had read. One admitted he hadn't read any.

I said, "All right, you can't name a book that has been written in the last five years on any modern economic or social problem." I got their I. Q. right away. I should like to try it out on some of the gentlemen who have been signing these circulars, to "pin the bolshevist label on them."

Eleventh: Setting up committees of research through state colleges of agriculture to work out plans for the rural extension of electric power. Here is a thing that a college of agriculture might very properly work out for itself, to see how electric power could be secured and utilized for the farmers. But when done at the behest and at the expense of a private profit-making enterprise, imagine the results. It is more than probable, in fact, it is certain, that those agricultural departments and colleges that did engage in this did not try to put over any propaganda of the power interests, but the very coupling of a college of agriculture, supported by public funds for public interests, with an organization that is adverse to one of the fundamentals of public welfare is not to be excused. Yet I can see how it happened; I can see how men who were not on their guard against these private profit-making interests, would be able to accept the offer of co-operation to try to get electric power to the farms.

Twelfth: One of the most interesting things I have run across in this material is the disclosure that came only last week. You didn't get it in the Chicago papers; at least in *The Chicago Tribune*. The disclosure came down in Missouri. I happened to be in St. Louis, or I probably would have been deprived of the privilege of reading about it. One of the papers in St. Louis, *The Post-Dispatch*, is publishing quite fully the material from the Federal Trade Commission. The subject was one about which we had some information before, but on which we did not have documentary evidence, namely, the hounding efforts to keep Carl Thompson off the Chautauqua platform two years ago this summer. Thompson was hired by the Redpath agency to go out and speak at their Chautauquas on the subject of super-power in the United States, speaking through Iowa and Missouri and that section of the country. He was, of course, speaking favorably to public ownership of the super-power system. The public utilities associations sent their cohorts on his tracks, and wherever he went he was preceded by the representatives of the utilities, who went to the local committees and demanded that he be kept from speaking. Mr. Thompson wrote about that in *The New Republic* just after it happened. But

now comes the documentary proof; now comes the letters of instruction going out from the central propaganda agencies to keep him off the platform.

Carl Thompson isn't the only one. It was very much to the credit of the Redpath people that he was given a chance on the Chautauqua. It was very much to their credit that they stuck to him, and while in some instances the local committees did cancel his dates, he went through the season.

I have no objection, whatever, nor have you, I am sure, to any man advocating anything he pleases; I have no objection to the power trust doing its utmost to advocate anything it pleases. I believe in free speech as long as it is exercised in the open. But when a private profit-making enterprise seeks to conceal itself behind our great educational institutions and seeks to mold public opinion through the schools in its own private interests, not openly, but secretly, by paid agents; when these people attempt to get text-books written favorably to them and introduced into the schools; when they organize committees for the purpose of co-operating with the educational institutions in the extension of private utilities services; when they attempt to keep people off the public platform who are advocating public ownership of power or public utilities; when they hound teachers of civics and economics in high schools and colleges, intimidating them and preventing them from teaching the truth about these questions, lest they may lose their jobs; when they do all these things under cover, then it is time for the educators of this country to rise up and assert themselves.

In my judgment, education is not worth a continental if educators do not stand forcefully against these efforts to debauch it. The whole thing is so insulting to educators themselves, it is so undermining of the integrity of education, and it is so dangerous to the republic that it ought to receive the universal condemnation of the united educational forces and of all the forces that believe that governments are instituted for general welfare and that education is the great means by which that may be brought about.

I have no doubt myself that educators will meet the challenge. I have seen evidences of very fine resistance. But we need to have united resistance, nationwide resistance; we need to fight this battle now in such a way that no one will ever attempt again to debauch the schools and to insult the educators and to seek private profit through control of public education at the expense of public good.

Report of Education Committee to the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Chicago, Illinois, June 25-29, 1928

The permanent Committee on Education has attempted during the past year to carry out the instructions of the last convention. On three of the questions referred to it for study, it finds itself unable to report.

It has not been possible this year to investigate the method of handling clerical work in the French schools, as was requested. The situation in continuation schools, and the effect of size of classes on efficiency, are under study in two of the Chicago locals; but the committee felt that the information at its command did not warrant it in reporting on these subjects.

On other questions referred to it, it reports as follows:

JUNIOR COLLEGES

The attention of the last convention was directed to two extensions of the public school system, which in one case seems to be assured and in the other at least to be considered seriously. At one extreme the junior college has probably established itself as a highly desirable unit of the public schools, and at the other, the nursery school is being almost as warmly contended for as the kindergarten was in its early days.

Both of these units require expensive equipment and a highly specialized teaching force, hence their addition to our school system will carry a decided increase in the per capita cost.

The American Federation of Teachers believes that no development of our educational system which will give American youth a better chance or which promises a richer life is too costly for America to pay for. Hence it should seek to understand these movements and to estimate their value.

The Junior College has become a part of our educational system and has grown to considerable magnitude with little realization of its significance even by the educational world.

NATURAL DEMAND MET

The schools have grown out of the demand of students who want advanced work beyond the high school and yet are not ready, for one reason or another, to go to the universities. Educators have recognized for some time that the large universities do not, possibly cannot, make adequate provision for the stu-

dent just out of high school. A few universities are seeking to meet this situation by organizing their first two years as a separate school, a few others have entirely discontinued the freshman and sophomore years. With the increase of Junior Colleges, more universities will probably gladly follow this latter course. In 1927 there were already, according to the American Council of Education, forty-four Junior Colleges which had been fully accredited by the four-year colleges and the number of students is increasing with astounding rapidity.

President Wilbur, of Leland Stanford University, has recently issued a letter in which he says that he considers it inevitable that the normal public school system of an established community will soon have its own Junior College. A larger number can attend such institutions "with less expense and less wastage than in our university classes. The quality of instruction in the Junior Colleges offers at least as satisfactory preparation as does our own lower division work, judged on the basis of our experience." In this President Wilbur is in substantial agreement with judgments commonly expressed.

SEPARATE BUILDINGS FAVORED

It is to be expected that in institutions which in many cases have started almost without foresight or plan many faults should be apparent. The Committee on Education believes therefore that certain standards should be established, and that trends and policies should be defined.

The committee holds that the libraries, laboratories and social activities of the Junior College should be equivalent to the best of these features in the first two years of the four-year colleges. Owing to the new expense of these schools and the rapidly increasing number of students, a general cheapening will be a temptation to a tax-ridden population. Such a cheapening, the committee believes, would be disastrous.

Many of our Junior Colleges are housed with high schools. This causes confusion and conflict. Junior Colleges should be in separate buildings. In small communities where the number of students does not seem to warrant this, consolidation of the colleges of larger districts should be encouraged. Buildings should be constructed to provide ample space for real college work, with conference rooms, departmental of-

fices, and offices for individual teachers. There is tremendous waste of time, energy and opportunity, when the "antiquated classroom plan" is adhered to and important features are subordinated or eliminated through a false sense of economy.

It is generally accepted that only students who have done four years regular, systematic high school work should be admitted to our Junior Colleges. The difficulty often lies in admitting students temporarily without proper credentials. This swells numbers, but lowers standards. Another fault lies in keeping students who do not do the work successfully. The committee believes that arbitrary rules of procedure in this situation would be dangerous. It does advocate, however, that each school have a definite standard requirement of achievement as the basis for the retention and the expulsion of students. There is no legitimate reason for allowing those students who have been expelled from the state universities to linger on indefinitely in institutions which are also supported by the taxpayers.

The faculty of the Junior Colleges have been under fire from several directions. In some cases that fire was well directed; in other cases it was aimed at imaginary targets.

The Junior Colleges are often accused of employing high school teachers. The committee believes that this practice should be approved in general when those teachers have fulfilled certain definite academic requirements. On the other hand it sees no reason for discriminating against teachers from the four-year colleges. The crux of the matter lies in the fact that teachers in Junior Colleges whether they come from high schools or from four-year colleges must combine, in order to be successful, two kinds of preparation—one in scholarship and one in professional experience. The Committee suggests the following requirements:

1. Teachers should have a Master's degree or the equivalent of two years of graduate work. In the case of technical subjects practical experience of equal scope is acceptable in place of the advanced academic study.

2. Experienced high school teachers with the required academic training should not be discriminated against.

3. All members of the faculty should have training in the technique of teaching.

4. Principals or presidents of the Junior Colleges should be of college calibre and of wide experience and vision.

Definite plans should be made for opportunities for study. Sabbatical leave and visits to other institutions should be encouraged.

In order that teachers of high standard may be secured an adequate salary schedule should be provided, academic freedom should be assured, and such regulations of the teaching load should be made as shall assure satisfying results.

While not recommending separate boards of trustees for the Junior Colleges, the committee feels that for some time at least there will be a need for separate committees of boards of education to direct these schools.

NURSERY SCHOOLS

A resolution was introduced in the convention of 1927, calling attention to the rapidly developing movement for establishing schools for the pre-school child, and to the organization of the Workers' Nursery Association in Chicago for the purpose of conducting a labor-owned Nursery School and Research Center. It was recommended that the American Federation of Teachers endorse this movement and give it its support.

The convention, on recommendation of the resolutions committee, referred this matter to the Permanent Committee on Education for a year's observation and co-operation, the committee to report at the next annual convention.

Since the Workers' Nursery Association has postponed the organization of the contemplated school, the committee on education has addressed itself to the study of the theory of the Nursery Schools and to the observation of such Nursery Schools as could be observed.

The Nursery School originated in England having as its purpose primarily the care of the children of the very poor. In America the movement has been broader and more scientific. It has sought to study the child as a child, and to discover how children between two and four, irrespective of the social status of the parents, can best be developed. There are a number of schools in America that are a development of the creche, that is, they are made up of the children of working mothers or are located in districts where homes are poorest. But the American movement has recognized that poverty is not the only handicap to the highest development, and a fair proportion of the American nursery schools is composed entirely of children of wealthy or well-to-do homes.

Students of child welfare have observed that the first two years of life and also the kindergarten age

have been carefully studied, but that little is known of the intervening years from two to four. The psychologists moreover are beginning to proclaim that the years from two to five are the most important in the child's life. The neglect of these critical years and the lack of scientific knowledge concerning them seemed fraught with danger.

Hence we find a group of most earnest, sincere guardians of childhood engaged in the movement for establishing these schools for children from two to four. The committee has been deeply impressed with the scientific and yet sympathetic spirit of the workers in the movement. They are working with the truly scientific spirit, seeking to discover the laws of growth and the proper guidance, not to invent the laws and force the children into compliance with them. Open minded testing and trying of methods and theories are everywhere present.

In Winnetka, Illinois, the whole idea is on trial. In a suburb of favored homes, they are seeking to discover the relative value of home and school training for these ages. Sixteen children were chosen for each type of training. For each child in the school there was found a "twin" of the same sex, age and mentality to be brought up at home. At the end of the school year these "twins" will be observed by an expert, to determine whether the school has demonstrated its value, and what that value is.

The result of this experiment is not yet available, but the effort illustrates the frankly experimental spirit which the committee found everywhere in this movement.

NO COMPUSSION FOUND

Very naturally the association of babies and schools has given rise to fears and some rebellion. But the fears of suppression, of regimentation, of loss of initiative and individuality, were entirely dispelled from the minds of the committee as these schools were studied and observed. In fact, one felt that few homes could be as free from these faults. Almost no compulsion could be observed. Stimulating apparatus, play things, games, stories, songs, were there, but each child chose for himself what he wanted to do. The games, the stories, the songs each came at its own particular time but no one was forced to join. If one wanted to hop-skip about by himself, he might, provided he did not disturb the others. Only rest, food and toilet are "standardized."

The school day in these schools varies. In some it is a three-hour session, in some it is about five, but the extra hours are devoted to lunch and nap. The

school at Hull House makes its session correspond to the working day of the mothers.

In all these schools great stress is put on outdoor play, for which appropriate apparatus is furnished. During the indoor play time many of the kindergarten devices are used. Group activities are encouraged, and one of the most valued ends attained is that children learn the great art of living together, involving co-operation, consideration of the rights of others, leadership and initiative.

STAFF OF EXPERTS AVAILABLE

A very important feature of the schools is the co-operation with the home. As at present organized the nursery school has a complete staff of experts at its command; physicians, both general and special, nurses, nutritionists, psychiatrists, and specialists in sociology and psychology, in addition to the specially trained teachers. All of these keep the children under observation and their advice and guidance is at the service of the parents of every child. No child of the wealthiest home can have the scientific care that these children have, and the ignorant mother, be she rich or poor, devoted or careless, is stimulated, and directed in intelligent care of the child during the many hours it spends at home.

Much questioning and criticism will inevitably be directed at these schools. (This is, of course, good.) But to the committee it has seemed that to many thousands of children the nursery schools will be of inestimable value. There are poor little rich children as well as poor little poor children to whom this little child's world with playmates, toys and stories, this real world also of eating, sleeping, giving, taking and sharing, will be a heaven of happiness as well as a means to healthful growth.

The Education Committee wishes to recommend:

That the American Federation of Teachers endorse the movement to study the needs of the pre-school child and the establishment of schools in which research, the training of teachers, the relief and instruction of parents may be combined with scientific care of children.

SPIRIT OF SCHOOLS COMMENDED

That it commend the spirit of truly scientific and yet sympathetic altruism shown in the movement and in the schools at present being conducted.

That it recommend that the extension of the public school system to include these schools for the pre-kindergarten child be deferred until such a time as experiments shall have had time for completion, a tried and approved technique shall have been devel-

oped, and a sufficient body of trained teachers shall be available; until there is no danger that standardization, indifference or lack of funds shall warp these schools out of the idealism that characterizes these pioneer schools of the movement.

THE MORRISON PLAN

Quite late in the school year, the National Office referred to the Education Committee a question that had come in from the field concerning the so-called Morrison plan of teaching or the unit system. The committee made such study as was possible in the brief time remaining, and makes the following tentative report. It considers that the system has merits and recommends that a more thorough study of the system be made by the Education Committee of next year.

There are educators who claim that this system marks the most important educational innovation in recent years. Teachers who work with it are generally enthusiastic, and parents report very satisfactory progress of their children under the system.

The method may be described briefly as follows:

The subject matter of the course is divided into units, each of which has a definite objective. A unit is presented in a brief survey by the teacher, and an outline and list of readings is furnished. A pre-test is given to ascertain the pupil's knowledge or reactions to the subject. Then the class room is turned into a study room in which individuals or small groups work on a specific problem. A large amount of reading material is furnished and the class room becomes a laboratory. Finally the teacher checks to see if the unit has been mastered.

DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN EQUIPMENT

A number of difficulties present themselves in attempting to use the method. One of the greatest is in organizing the curriculum into teachable units. Professor Morrison explains his idea of a unit thus: "The whole process of education, of adjustment to the objective conditions of life, is made up of units of learning, each of which must be mastered or no adaptation is made, * * * It follows that the course material which we find in the curriculum is valuable in education only as it is analyzed into significant units of learning which generate adaptations in the pupil and in that way contribute to his adjustment. * * * The unit is both objective principle or art or value and the corresponding subjective transformation in the pupil which results in a new attitude or special ability or skill."

The difficulty of obtaining equipment must also be noted. Many books and much mimeographed material are essential. The class room must be arranged so that the materials are accessible to the students and freedom of movement is possible.

Another serious difficulty must be faced in the fact that more teachers are required. Much of the work is individual and the checking of papers may become an intolerable burden if the usual pupil load is required of the teacher. The method will fail entirely if this requirement is not met. Also the teachers of this system must acquire a new technique, and they must be completely "sold" to the merits of the method, if a success is to be made. The system must be accepted from within the teaching force, not merely imposed upon it.

Some teachers using the method feel that the weak student is often lost in a large class, and that there is some loss of stimulation to the retiring student that would come from more frequent class discussions.

METHOD STIMULATING TO PUPIL

With these difficulties faced and met, the committee feels that the method has much to recommend it. Among the more important it would list: The emphasis is on pupil activity rather than on teacher activity; the method stimulates the student to independent study and extensive reading; memory work is minimized; lesson hearing gives way to supervised study; individual differences in pupils are more easily met by varying the amount of work required; the bright pupils are given an opportunity.

Finally the committee recommends that Boards of Education and principals use great care in organizing schools under the Morrison Plan. The school plant should be modified to meet the needs of the system; the entire curriculum must be reorganized into units; a new technique must be mastered and accepted by the teaching force, and a large corps of teachers must be provided.

PROPAGANDA IN THE SCHOOLS

When this committee in its report to the last convention directed attention to the Ely Institute for research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, it seems to have been a foretaste of revelations of astounding magnitude.

The committee felt keenly the danger to education of an organization posing as an institute of research, and so closely associated with a great university as to be popularly considered a part of it, which was yet financed by businesses whose interests were largely

concerned with the outcome of their ostensible research.

The committee would be glad to claim, perhaps, that it realized not only the danger of the principle, but the extent of the practice. But the investigation of the Federal Trade Commission of the activities of the Power Interests has revealed a situation more ominous even than the committee feared.

The spectacle of this nation-wide organization spending unlimited effort and money to reach with its propaganda every pupil above the eighth grade in our schools and colleges, might stimulate anew the faith of educators in the importance of their work. But the contemptuous attitude expressed toward these same educators can do little toward increasing their pride in their position.

We assume the familiarity of the delegates with the general trend of the revelations before the Federal Trade Commission and merely recall some of the high points.

POWER TRUST ACTIVE

The National Electric Light Association, the chief propaganda agency of the power interests, has been subsidizing the Harvard School of Business Administration to the extent of \$30,000 a year for its "research staff in public utilities management" and the records of the National Electric Light Association show that the subsidy is largely to "produce an adequate text book on public utility corporations" which "would better appear under academic auspices than as a publication of this association. In addition it is obvious that such literature bearing the imprint of Harvard University would be quite generally adopted by other institutions."

Dr. Ely's Institute at Northwestern has also been receiving a subsidy from the National Electric Light Association of \$25,000 a year, and has apparently been delivering a satisfactory return, since Dr. Ely felt free to write the Association on February 16 of this year, asking additional support to finance a study of municipal ownership of utilities in California, where the private power interests are attacking public ownership with especial bitterness. Illustrations could be multiplied, but the policy is clear. Managing Director Aylesworth of the National Electric Light Association in addressing the 1923 convention of the Mid-West Utilities is quoted in part as saying: "I would advise any manager here who lives in a community where there is a college to get the professor of economics interested in your problems. Have him lecture on your subject in his classes. Once in a

while it will pay you to take such men getting five or six hundred, or a thousand dollars a year, and give them a retainer of one or two hundred dollars a year for the privilege of letting you study and consult with them.

"For how, in heaven's name, can we do anything in the schools of the country with the young people growing up if we have not first sold the idea of education to the college professor?"

OCCASIONAL "SURPRISES" ENCOUNTERED

But occasionally even after the organized utilities paid their money to an institution some individual faculty member would attack them. This happened in the case of Dr. Wm. Z. Ripley of Harvard, who presumed to question some of the financial practices of the public utilities. This was a painful surprise to some in the electrical industry. The chairman of the committee on Public Relations felt called upon to try to explain the unfortunate occurrence at the 1926 convention of the Public Relations Section. He said in part: "There are two aspects of the organization of educational institutions which may not be entirely clear to us—the individual mule in the team of twenty must be allowed to kick over the traces once in a while if he will. Otherwise the search for truth, the advancement of truth, the very credibility of the institution suffers. * * * And so if occasionally a professor breaks loose on stuff that does not please us, let us bear in mind always that he may not be expressing the consensus of opinion of his colleagues. * * * The one suggestion I would offer is that the professor is most amenable to inspiration. If we can be sure that we have got hold, with reference to our industry, of the will of Jehovah, perhaps we may play the part of Jehovah in putting into the mouth of the particular Balaam, whom we are asking to go forth, something of the truth we would like, which we have a right to expect, to have prophesied."

But even more serious than this alarming success in buying the camouflage of academic prestige and supposedly disinterested authority, is their censorship of high school text books. In a number of states, their records show, they have had every text on economics used in the schools of the state examined, and where statements detrimental to their interests were found, pressure was brought to bear on school authorities to take the book out, or to place it on the shelves as a reference book.

NO OPPORTUNITY OVERLOOKED

They boast that they overlook no opportunity in our educational system from the eighth grade up.

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Their records show that they utilize every avenue they can succeed in reaching in each situation from the individual teacher or principal through board members and superintendents up to State Superintendents of Public Instruction. And money for propaganda, which they take from consumers under the heading of operating expenses, seemed to be unlimited.

Gifford Pinchot says in a letter to the *Washington Times*: "Never in the history of America has the like of this attack on the soundness and independence of education been uncovered. In attacking the integrity of the schools it attacks the very basis of self-government."

At this point let us avoid misunderstanding by repeating our declaration of a year ago. It is not a question of the sincerity of any given individual's conviction, or of the right of organized private groups to finance research. The growing control of research by private endowment does create a difficult social problem, but we are not concerned with it here. We freely grant that scholars of high integrity may and do legitimately serve private foundations. But the issue is still one of masquerading under false colors. We can well let the Federal Trade Commission speak for us. We quote from page 240 of its report:

"The right of the industry to present its case before the bar of public opinion is unquestioned, provided such presentation is made openly in the name of the industry, and therefore without even a semblance of deception such as may be involved in subsidizing authors, teachers, universities, or research organizations in order that inspired text books or other

materials may be given greater credibility because issued over the name of supposedly impartial writers, research organizations or institutions of learning. Where this is done the general public may well question whether the scientific attitude and integrity of established institutions of higher learning are not being undermined. Truly no greater calamity could happen either to industry or to the public than for educators or educational institutions to become the paid mouthpieces of economic groups."

The American Federation of Teachers, as the first organization of educators publicly to call attention to this danger, owes it to itself and to the profession it seeks to protect, to protest against the use of our schools by any business interest to inculcate in immature minds principles of economics favorable only to those interests.

The American Federation of Teachers also should urge its members to be alert to detect other attempts so to use our schools, and to realize their own importance as the protectors of the minds of the youth of the land and hence of the future of the nation.

LILLIAN ACKERMAN

EDWARD DAVIS,

FLORENCE GREEN,

LEO R. KLINGE,

LUCIE H. SCHACHT,

CHARLES B. STILLMAN,

GEORGE TANNER,

JENNIE A. WILCOX,

ADA ZARBELL,

LUCIE W. ALLEN, *Chairman*.

Who Said Jurisdiction?

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE, of Commonwealth Local 194, American Federation of Teachers

"Mr. Chairman! Mr. Chairman! I arise to a point of order. This body has no power to deal with this matter. It is a jurisdictional question involving my craft and I demand that the laws, written and unwritten, and the ethical codes long established by common practice and consent in the American Federation of Labor be respected and this matter be left to the craft and union under whose jurisdiction it comes."

In countless labor conclaves and under all sorts of conditions this protest has been voiced, and around it have raged some of the most bitter contests of organized labor. As industry becomes more complex and industrial processes more intricate, jurisdictional problems will become more acute. When all window

frames were made of wood there was no quarrel between sheet-metal workers and carpenters, and when hollow-tile and reinforced concrete construction was yet unknown there was no quarrel between bricklayers and plasterers. But modern methods of construction have brought on devastating struggles between these crafts, just as other modern processes have in other crafts.

TEACHERS' CRAFT INVADIED

There are no indications that the time will ever come in the American Federation of Labor when it will be considered lawful or ethical for the members of one craft to invade the field of labor and jurisdiction of another organized craft. That is, in theory. But in reality the field of labor and the

jurisdiction of my craft is being constantly invaded by members of other crafts.

There is a union of educators affiliated with the A. F. of L.—The American Federation of Teachers—and matters of education within the parent body logically come under its jurisdiction. Workers' education has made tremendous strides during the past five years. It is *the* live and vital topic in every state federation of labor and international convention. All sorts of educational ventures have been undertaken by organized labor, and in them all, so far as I have been able to observe, the teachers' union has been almost entirely disregarded, and the teachers' work has been undertaken by hod-carriers, bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, blacksmiths and whatnot—anything but organized members of the teaching craft.

During the past five years I have attended at least a hundred state federation of labor and international conventions. At each, workers' education has been discussed, and at most, educational committees have reported, or the president has reported for them, and in no instance, so far as I can remember, has the educational committee been headed by an educator, or a member of the teachers' union.

RESULTS NOT SATISFACTORY

Not a glimmer of the grim humor involved in having a barber, painter and boilermaker report on educational work seemed to penetrate these labor conclaves, and the members of the educational committee would have been thunderstruck and outraged had I risen to proclaim the jurisdictional rights of my union, and told them flatly that they were scabbing on members of a sister craft. Yet, when we get down to brass tacks, what else is it but the violation of jurisdictional rights and scabbing on another craft?

If results were satisfactory one might wink at the lapses from ethical standards, but they are not. In less than half a dozen conventions have education committees reported satisfactory progress in workers' education ventures, and when the progress has been satisfactory they have had the common sense to hire educators to do the work.

There was a time when teachers were considered a sort of third sex, trousered ladies, and sexless spinsters, who being unfit for any real jobs were put in charge of the education of the young. And being sapless, spineless, and totally lacking "guts" they were convenient doormats for the body politic. Unfortunately there was all too much basis for this general attitude; teachers were in the main so smitten with

Christian meekness that they invited the rest of the world to wipe their feet on them, and naturally got what they professed to want.

TEACHERS WITH BACKBONE AND BRAINS

But that state of affairs is rapidly passing. Educators with backbone and brains who are fit to be entrusted with the education of modern youth have recognized their solidarity with labor, organized their own union, and affiliated with the parent body. They are fulfilling all the obligations of trade unionism, have a definite and much needed contribution to make to the progress of labor, and should in all fairness be protected in their jurisdictional rights. A labor body should find it as abhorrent to its ethical standards and sense of justice for members of other crafts to scab on teachers as on carpenters, painters, cooks and waiters.

Labor education is not a fad nor a new toy. It will not drop down like manna from Heaven. It must be paid for in hard cash just like any other worthwhile thing. It is a vital weapon in the hands of the working class and it must be developed by trained, skilled craftsmen and not by dabbling amateurs. If your union or central body can establish workers' classes, do so by all means, but do not depend on a busy secretary, business agent or a craftsman following his trade to act as instructor. They lack the necessary training, they cannot be in touch with modern educational methods or material, and they cannot hold down two jobs at one time and do justice to either.

BE PRACTICAL AND LOYAL

When you have organized your study class in labor problems be practical as well as loyal to the principles of trade unionism. Hire a union teacher and pay him a decent wage to act as instructor. The results will be far more satisfactory, your venture into workers' education will be sound, sane and scientific, and your conscience will be free from the feeling that you are scabbing on members of another craft.

If labor education is worth doing at all it is worth doing with the best available skill; honestly and ethically; and with well trained union teachers in charge.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.—By Abraham Lincoln.

Bring It With Education

Resolution Regarding World Peace Adopted at the Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations, at Toronto, Canada, in August, 1927

At the great conference of the World Federation of Education Associations which 4,000 leading educationists from all over the world attended at Toronto, Canada, in August, 1927, one subject of discussion was the bringing about of world peace through education. The following resolution presented by the Adult Education Section was adopted:

Whereas, The peace and happiness of the world depends largely on education, and

Whereas, One of the most important means of education is that of the reading of the great literatures of the world (this includes music, art and drama), and

Whereas, These great literatures have in them those correctives as to the values of life, which are needed to build up permanent communities of intelligent and happy people, which tend to strengthen the intellectual and spiritual qualities of character, and which keep alive with growing force, as citizens become older, the great ideals of honor, truth and justice, on which ideals alone, contented community life, national democratic life and world peace must finally depend, and

Whereas, Such a selection of literature is being constantly made more difficult by the increasing number of papers, magazines and books of doubtful and mediocre character - building value, which are being printed; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the World's Federation of Education Associations, do advise the organizations herewith affiliated, to consider ways and

means whereby the adult citizens of their constituencies may be encouraged to continue their education throughout life, by

- I. Making the great literatures of the world easily available to all adult citizens in both country and city districts.
- II. By making provision for the advisory guidance of the reading of their adult citizens.

That through the messages of the great literatures of the world there may be diffused throughout every country and in every section of society, those ideals which will vitally mould the lives of their citizens, enkindle their imaginations, widen their interests and sympathies, and by the continuing process of education give them an inexhaustible source of happiness and thus help to bring, by mutual sympathy and responsibility, a world peace, based on the great principles of honor, truth and justice.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Mass.—More than 50 per cent of Iowa farmers are tenants, Professor Charles E. Payne of Grinnell College, Iowa, told conferees to the Institute of Politics.

Last year, he said, every college in Iowa decreased in attendance and they were unable to meet demands for scholarship assistance and for positions to enable students to work their way.

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AGENTS

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BOOKS

"There is no frigate like a book
To bear us lands away."

—Emily Dickinson.

Any sociologist will tell you that crime is prevented not so much by education as by continuing education. Reading is the born enemy of the gang. Any psychologist will tell you that the quickest and surest way to assure continuing education is to develop the reading habit.—James Weber Linn, *Herald-Examiner*.

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE; *Handbook for Peace Workers*, Florence Brewer Boeckel, Education Secretary National Council for Prevention of War, The MacMillan Company, 600 pp., postpaid, \$2.00.

The educators of every country have since the war been seeking new ways to develop better international understanding and a clearer knowledge of the close economic and social relationships of the modern world. In the new *Handbook for Peace Workers* published this autumn by Macmillan under the title "Between War and Peace" by Florence Brewer Boeckel, Educational Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, the whole story of what teachers are doing through their national and international organizations and of the experiments which are being made in individual schools and classes is for the first time fully set forth. The practical character of the information it contains is evident in the subjects with which the chapter on Education and World Peace deals. Among them are these: the recent studies made to determine what international attitudes are being developed by present courses and methods of teaching; history text books, what present studies of them reveal and what suggestions have been made for their improvement; what international educational organizations are doing; the plan of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation; activities of teachers' organizations in the United States; what is being done in the normal schools and through foreign study and travel and exchange of posts to give teachers a world point of view; what is being done in the universities through the regular courses and in extra-academic activities; what the schools are doing; detailed suggestions for teaching international goodwill not only through history, geography and civics but through all other regular school courses; projects in international goodwill which various schools have

carried out; programs for special days; information in regard to where material can be gotten for class room and program work; information in regard to fellowships, opportunities for student foreign travel and foreign correspondence and bibliographies of books on education and for children. The book is throughout a book of facts not exhortation, and will be invaluable for teachers.

AMERICAN COMMUNISM, by James Oneal, Rand Book Store, New York. Reviewed by A. J. Muste, Chairman of Faculty, Brookwood Labor College.

The most important question for sincerely progressive and radical people interested in the American labor movement, is how anyone who is not either reactionary or Communist can best function in the movement today. That question is not answered in Mr. Oneal's book. Doubtless it will not be answered by any book. It will be worked out in experience, sad and difficult experience for the most part in the next few years, and then some one may write a book about it telling just how and why it happened.

Nevertheless Mr. Oneal's book renders an important service for it does answer another troublesome question with which many find themselves confronted, namely, "But if you are not a reactionary what else can you honestly do but side with the Communists?" This book makes it clear why hosts of people in the labor movement and in sympathy with it cannot be Communist any more than they can be reactionary, and does it almost entirely out of the record and the mouths of the Communists themselves.

The case that Oneal builds up would run, very briefly, as follows:

1. That Communist tactics were evolved out of Russian experience under a brutal Czarism and have been arbitrarily and mechanically applied to Western European and American conditions, whereas they are not applicable to the latter any more than tactics evolved in the United States would have been suitable to the Russian movement.

2. That in the period immediately after the war the Communists deliberately, on the showing of their own records, pursued both on the political and the trade union field a policy of "splits" in order to put out of business all labor organizations by them regarded as reactionary and to build up "pure" organizations that would carry on armed conflict with capitalism in "the present epoch of acute civil war" as the Communists believed it to be; that so far as

the United States, the Communists are a ridiculous and ludicrous force that they are a terrible war battle against

3. That the Communists have done an enormous amount of Communist organization, habitually of these things, and which they have deliberated Party meetings and even overtrading

4. That the Communists are persistent, practically the labor movement and the energy

5. That the Communists have other labor to Moscow, and in a concrete organization, self-respect, actual progress, organization, not charged with aims are

6. That the Communists have not concrete gain, ening of their efforts, that this Wing, since that tort that aged by

Now, even though even though tically a out that

the United States is concerned at any rate this was a ludicrous and tragic misreading of the situation; and that therefore the policy of "splits" led only to terrible weakening of the American movement in its battle against reaction.

3. That when the policy of "splits" was abandoned and that of the "united front" adopted, the Communists in "co-operating" with the other labor organizations for the achievement of specific ends habitually placed in the forefront not the achievement of these ends but the preaching of Communist doctrine and the "capture" of the organizations with which they were "co-operating," and again did so deliberately. Thus Lenin himself advises Workers Party members "to practice trickery, to employ cunning and to resort to illegal methods—to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth" in order to penetrate trade unions.

4. That by this and similar measures such as persistent, personal, violent, unrestrained vilification of practically all persons in positions of leadership in the labor movement they have left a trail of bitterness and personal rancor which has seriously depleted the energies of the movement.

5. That Communists in the trade unions and other labor organizations always owe first allegiance to Moscow, have to act in concert and in strict obedience to orders, and that thus there develops something more insidious and destructive even than dual unionism, namely, a "dual allegiance" which operates in a concealed manner. It is pointed out that no organization can for any length of time maintain its self-respect, vitality and efficiency in the face of its actual problems which is thus dominated by another organization which exercises direct influence but is not charged with direct responsibility and whose aims are not the same.

6. That, for whatever reason, the Communists have not produced results, they cannot point to concrete gains achieved by the workers nor to a strengthening of labor organization and morale as a result of their efforts. It is not much to the point to reply that this is due to sabotage on the part of the Right Wing, since the latter can too readily make the retort that in recent years all its efforts have been sabotaged by the Lefts.

Now, of course, the debaters on the other side are not without arguments in reply, but facts remain even though you can argue against them enthusiastically and even logically. It may be pointed out that there have been serious evils and short-

comings in many parts of the labor movement and that these are responsible to a great extent for the existence of Communism and Left Wingism or at least for the fact that thousands of workers in the New York needle trades, for example, follow Communist leadership though they are no more Communists than Secretary Kellogg. This is a point which Mr. Oneal probably stresses insufficiently though he does not fail to mention it. It is true that the methods employed by the Communists have often been employed by others including their opponents. One may seriously question, may deeply regret, some of the means being employed at the present time in the fight against Communism and believe that the results will come back to plague the labor movement. One may believe that a movement which does not have an honest and serious "opposition" is in a dangerous state, and that any such "opposition" would encounter vehement opposition whatever its tactics might be, and much more. Yet when all is said and done no one can regard the present situation objectively without realizing that either the Left Wing must radically transform itself or its power in the American movement must and will be broken, and that it is probably too late now for the former to happen. Also, to say to one who seeks to confront the American scene honestly, realistically and intelligently that if he does not want to be a reactionary he must be a Communist is simply funny, and hardly even that. If a surgeon has a delicate operation to perform on a patient's brain he does not have to set about doing it with a cleaver because that happens to be the only tool at hand; he may set about trying to find another and failing that might not be quite idiotic in deciding to let nature do the best it could rather than himself assuming responsibility for bringing about certain death by the use of an instrument utterly unfitted for the job.

Mr. Oneal accomplishes other results than the one we have discussed. He shows, for example, how stupid and brutal and unnecessary were most of the government's dealings with Communism in the palmy days of Palmer and Daugherty and to date. Except for an occasional slip he has done it all in a tone of moderation that seems truly remarkable in one who has been so intimately connected with the strenuous, troubled developments which he records. Whether or not one agrees with his conclusions, anyone who pretends to keep at all abreast of developments in the field of labor will have to read and reckon with his book.

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated With the American Federation of Labor

Fear not freedom but oppression in the handling of children. Teachers should have no fear of giving children more freedom. Happiness is the goal and happiness is the condition of a soul which responds to the beautiful things in life freely.—Angelo Patri.

TO ORGANIZE IS THE FIRST STEP

God grants liberty to those who love it and are always ready to guard and defend it.—*Daniel Webster.*

The program of the American Federation of Teachers for 1928-29 contains some very vital projects but the basic thing for us to consider before all else is organization. Your organization is a living thing; it either grows or declines. Your officers and committees have definite plans. With your co-operation they can be made effective and the influence of the American Federation of Teachers for freedom and democracy greatly increased.

The American Federation of Teachers is what its members make it. How much are you interested in the ideals of social justice, of the square deal, of the protection for the oppressed and repressed? Of what concern to you are our present problems of restoring to the teachers of Seattle their fundamental rights as American citizens, of fighting propaganda in the schools, of securing sound tenure laws in Indiana and Washington, of eliminating unfair, narrow, prejudiced contracts? Upon how much these things mean to YOU depend the power and effectiveness of your Federation.

The American Federation of Teachers must maintain two supplementary kinds of growth: it must constantly increase its membership and it must render increasingly efficient service to its membership and its profession. Its service to education and to society is in proportion to its membership and its efficiency; its efficiency depends upon you, your interest, your whole hearted belief in your organization's purposes.

How are you going to respond? There is self-interest as well as altruism in the success of this movement. The more you put in, the more you will get out. The more you give, the better investment in your organization you have.

ORGANIZATION FUND

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers at its meeting in Chicago, June 29, 1928, assigned to Mr. F. G. Stecker and the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, Local No. 2, in response to their generous offer, the work of raising a fund to carry on the organization program of the National Office. The committee has been formed and has sent out to the officers of all locals the following letter:

To Our Fellow Officers:

The need of an organization fund was stressed by the 1928 convention of the American Federation of Teachers. The Ex-

September 12, 1928.

Executive Council in planning the year's work accepted the offer by representatives of Chicago Men, Local No. 2, to undertake a drive for funds. A committee has been created with the support of the Chicago Men, in accordance with authority from the National Executive Council.

The committee proposes to obtain during the present school year, a fund of twenty thousand dollars for organization work by the American Federation of Teachers in developing new locals. Contributions will be sought from members of the American Federation of Teachers, from friends solicited by members, from local treasuries, from campaigns conducted by locals, and from labor bodies who may be interested in a local organization project.

This preliminary announcement is made at the beginning of the school year when the locals are resuming their activities, that plans for participation by the local in this campaign may be included in the year's program. The committee will welcome suggestions.

Yours for a larger National,

J. A. MEADE,
J. R. MOORE,
F. G. STECKLER,
Fund Committee.

It is pleasant to report that the first response has come from a member of Chicago Men, Local No. 2, and that one local has signified its intention to contribute at least five dollars per member.

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS IN LATIN-AMERICA

The influence of the "progressive" schools movement of Europe and the United States is growing rapidly in Latin-America. Many prominent educators, some of whom have received training abroad, are clamoring for modern educational reforms. Legislation providing for the possibility of experimentation in the schools has been passed. In Mexico, Argentina and Chile experimental work has already been carried on in public schools, while in Colombia and Uruguay private schools are being run successfully along modern lines. Discussions of the new methods and their attendant problems are filling many of the Latin-American educational journals, especially those of the Argentine and Chilean branches of the International League for New Education.

The outstanding features of this new educational movement in Latin-America and a description of some of the "progressive" schools are presented in an article by Miss Heloise Brainerd, Chief of the Division of Education of the Pan-American Union, which appeared in the May Bulletin of the Union. Educators interested in securing a copy of this article should apply to the Division of Education, Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C.

"I will never believe that Providence has sent a few men into the world ready, booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready, booted and bridled to be ridden."—*Rumble*.

ORGANIZATION

If the teachers of America are to become a real factor in the great labor movement, they must be organized. The American Federation of Teachers is a great educational organization but it reaches a pitifully small number of teachers. That number must be increased both for the sake of the teachers themselves, and for the sake of the American labor movement.

Teachers rank with farmers and unskilled laborers in their lack of organization. Because of this unorganized condition, teachers, farmers and unskilled laborers have lost pace with the general advance made by other occupations during the last decade or two.

Business executives, professional men and skilled tradesmen have made great gains in income and better working conditions which includes shorter hours of labor. Even unskilled laborers have secured shorter hours. Farmers and teachers, the poorest organized of all skilled workers, work as long as they did ten or twenty years ago, and have made little, if any, progress in the matter of real income.

An investigation in my own school district reveals that teachers are receiving considerably less per pupil hour than they were ten or even twenty years ago. The small increases in salary are more than offset by the longer teaching day imposed and the fifty per cent increase in the number of pupils each teacher is required to handle. I believe this situation is typical of the average school. What other worker in business, profession or trade is receiving less per unit of product than he was ten or fifteen years ago?

The above condition, in my opinion, is due very largely to the fact that teachers are dealing with their employers as individuals. Contracts are made by school directors and accepted by the teachers. The latter are not consulted as to the terms, but are subject to the whims of any groups who happen to be elected or appointed to these boards of education.

There are other ways in which teachers suffer by not having stronger organizations to protect them. In most sections of the country teachers are told they can not expect higher salaries because there are hundreds of unemployed teachers waiting to take their positions. Notwithstanding this, an ever increasing number of normal schools and colleges of education are turning out a greater supply of teachers each year. How different is the situation in the medical profession. The physicians, through their very strong national organization, have forced the requirements so high that fewer men are entering the profession and

many medical colleges have closed their doors. If you doubt the effectiveness of organization, compare the incomes of the fifty leading educators in any large city with those of fifty leading physicians.

Less than twenty per cent of the teachers belong to any national organization that includes teachers in its membership, and a far smaller fraction belong to any organization that has the economic welfare of the class room teacher as one of its major purposes. The great mass of teachers is for all intents and purposes wholly unorganized.

Why does the American Federation of Teachers not organize the teachers of the United States? It certainly is not because the teachers do not need organization. It must be either that the teachers do not want to belong to our organization or that we do not want them, or want them sufficiently to make the necessary effort to get them. Most teachers can not be said to have refused us for they have not been asked. They know nothing about us. A very small minority of teachers knows that the American Federation of Teachers exists.

That puts it squarely up to us. Have we made the necessary effort to bring the mass of the class room teachers of this country into our organization? Of course we could not have done this over night. But are we growing at a satisfactory rate? If not, is it because we have made all reasonable efforts to increase our organization and failed, or is it because we have neglected the organization program so essential to a thriving union?

By investigation into the activities of other unions, I find that we are not making a comparable effort in organization. Several local unions in my own city employ one or two full time organizers in addition to their regular officers. If a local union, with a membership of less than a thousand, considers it necessary to have an organizer, how can the American Federation of Teachers, a national organization, justify its lack of a better organization program?

The report of the organization committee for last year shows very satisfactory results, considering the small means at the disposal of the committee. A number of new locals were established largely through the efforts of the secretary-treasurer who took what little time she could from her office to visit a few cities where some interest in organization had been shown. How many more locals might have been added if she could have spent the whole year in such work?

Locals, once started, have languished, and some have died. This may be due to various causes. In

some cases, the enthusiastic individuals who started the locals have left their respective school systems before the unions had received a good start and their members fully educated. In others, hostile employing boards have destroyed a union too weak to stand alone. The national organization should be in a position to encourage and assist these new locals until they become firmly established.

The officers of the Federation realize the need of real organization work. They lack only the funds. If we are to become a great national organization with locals in every state, we must supply the money for an adequate organization program.

The dues in teachers unions are lower than in any unions I have observed. The annual dues do not average more than \$10.00. In some of the unions in other crafts the dues are nearly that much per month. From \$20.00 to \$50.00 per year is a very common fee for the privilege of belonging to a union in other crafts. It is safe to assume that the average trade unionist pays more for the organization program, alone, of his union than the average teacher pays for all purposes. Perhaps we are getting all we pay for.

Labor conditions in the United States are approaching a crisis. In a period of so called prosperity with full production, it is estimated that nearly 4,000,000 are unemployed. Efficiency methods including speeding up processes and labor saving devices are adding to the number constantly. Even among teachers the problem of unemployment is becoming acute. The crisis must and will be met. The degree of organization attained by the workers will determine how favorable for them the settlement will be. It is essential that the teachers of the country be well organized that they may be in a position to have some influence in determining the future of not only the teachers but all workers.

Let's get together and supply the funds for a real organization program for the American Federation of Teachers. Let's give every teacher in the United States a chance to know about us and an invitation to join us. Let's make the teachers organization one of the strongest and largest groups affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

W. B. SATTERTHWAITE,
President of Seattle Teachers Union No. 200

All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth.—*Aristotle.*

Shall Brookwood and Academic Freedom Die?

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

Vice President American Federation of Teachers

Labor, as the ardent champion of academic freedom, of teachers' rights, of fair play and of educational democracy has earned the gratitude of the thinking and progressive teachers of America. How shocked then must these teachers have been when they read that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, on the basis of a one-sided and partial report, and without even a semblance of a hearing, publicly attacked Brookwood Labor College, or local No. 189 of the A. F. of T., as an institution that was communistic, anti-religious and a disseminator of propaganda antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor. To say that the action of the A. F. of L. astounded the teachers and friends of labor education is to understate the situation. Progressive labor was momentarily stupefied if not stunned!

First, the action of the A. F. of L. violated every principle of fair play and in no way harmonizes with the fine sense of fairness we know the members of the council to possess and because it is utterly out of harmony with its past conduct. The action was admittedly taken on a partial report by Brother Matthew Woll—a report that was unauthorized by the Committee on Education or the Executive Council of the Workers Education Bureau.

Second, this attack was made without the slightest knowledge of the international or of the Workers' Education Bureau, with which Brookwood is affiliated, as well as without the knowledge of the Board of Directors or the members of the faculty.

Third, if any dissatisfaction were felt by the Executive Council with the teaching at Brookwood they should have called the matter to the attention of the American Federation of Teachers before any action was even contemplated, much less consummated.

A BLOW AT ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Fourth, however unjustified and unfounded this attack may be, it has, nevertheless, done great harm to an institution that has brought nothing but credit upon our international and glory to labor education in this country.

Fifth, the attack is out of harmony with labor's protestations of academic freedom since it is the worst blow ever struck at academic freedom by either friend or enemy. In the face of such a blow, how can the A. F. of L. ever again honestly claim

its championship of the principle of academic freedom?

At whom did the A. F. of L. strike this blow? At Brookwood Labor College. Brookwood, which is unquestionably the foremost successful experiment in labor education in the United States. At Brookwood with its international reputation, with a faculty 100% organized and thoroughly loyal to the ideals of the labor movement—a faculty composed of men and women of outstanding scholarship and educational initiative! At Brookwood with a board of directors composed of men and women prominent in the fields of labor and education, whose loyalty to the ideals of labor can hardly be questioned even by Matthew Woll and his National Civic Federation, American Legion or Key Men of America.

WHAT WAS MOTIVE?

Brookwood must be judged by its product. Though too young to be judged fairly, it can point with pride to its students who stand out in all parts of the country for their devotion to labor. Charles Reed in Salem and Massachusetts; Josephine Kasczor, a 1928 graduate who has had her baptism of fire in New Bedford and won laurels rare indeed even for old timers; Julius Hochman, Manager of the Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U. who rendered yeoman service in ridding their union of the destructive communist element; Mary Goff, whose fine organizing work is justly praised; A. Hoffman and Margaret Woll whose pioneering work in the South may be pregnant with untold growth and strength for labor in that virgin field; Israel Mufson and his Philadelphia Labor College; Leonard Craig and his educational work in Pennsylvania, and a host of others too numerous to mention.

What could have been the motive for this unjustifiable attack? Much as I regret to say it, I believe it was due to a mistaken routine action and over-confidence in the impartiality and integrity of Brother Woll. Evidently the credulity of Brother Woll and his precipitateness explain much. If not, can the attack be due to the fear of the leading position won by Brookwood without A. F. of L. endorsement? Can it be the fear that A. F. of L. policies can not stand criticism and Brookwood, as an educational institution, is essentially critical? Brookwood is critical and

faces all issues fairly but fearlessly. Neither Brookwood nor any member of its faculty believes in propagandist education. Brookwood has been visited and inspected by hundreds of men and women in the labor movement, some its bitterest opponents, and yet it has won nothing but praise. At the last A. F. of L. convention President John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor lauded Brookwood and its works as did other labor leaders, notably President McMahon of the United Textile Workers. Brookwood has nothing to fear. It craves investigation but its friends resent secret and unfair attacks from whatever source.

And to think that this attack came at a time when the Dean of Brookwood—A. J. Muste—had just completed negotiations for adding a local with thousands of members to the A. F. of L. Would that the American Federation of Labor had thousands of such traitors and then possibly its numerical strength would be increasing and not decreasing. Would that the labor movement had more traitors like Dean Muste of Brookwood! Loyalty to the ideals of the A. F. of L. by all means. But does loyalty mean slavish subservience to the prevailing policies as expressed by the A. F. of L.? If so, to which policies? To all of them? If so, why does not the Council attack those Federations which have ignored its political policy? *A movement that can not stand criticism at the hands of its friends is hardly worth preserving.* It is time that the spirit, the courage and the idealism of the leaders of labor came to the fore instead of the hysteria and fear unfortunately engendered by the stupid and inane acts of the fanatic communists.

BROOKWOOD MUST NOT DIE

The autonomy of the American Federation of Teachers has been attacked by the hasty and ill-advised action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Not only have we been ignored in the effort to discipline one of our locals but the attack was carried out in a manner unworthy of the fine idealism and the sense of fair play I know the members of the Executive Council have heretofore manifested. I can hardly conceive of Brothers Green, Noonan, Morrison or Tobin maintaining that an institution which had not the faintest inkling of the preferred charges, which had not been given a chance to be heard, and which had to learn of the attack upon it through the public press, has been given a square deal according to the labor idea of a "square deal." As a loyal son of labor, I earnestly call upon the members of the Executive Council to rectify their error and to undo

in their straightforward and manly manner the damage done to Brookwood. Only by such action will they rehabilitate themselves in public esteem.

I also call upon the friends of academic freedom, of labor autonomy, of labor education and of justice to support Brookwood in its demands for a fair and impartial public hearing upon the charges brought by Brother Woll who can know but little about an institution he has never even visited.

Brookwood must not and will not perish. Its work in the field of labor education is too vital and too necessary for both labor and the cause of education. Let labor and education as typified by Brookwood unite to build a bigger, more vital, more effective labor movement which, with its organized fellow workers in other lands, will help usher in a world of peace and brotherhood.

TEACHERS ADVISED TO STAND FOR RIGHT

Walter Lippman, chief editorial writer for the *New York World*, in an address delivered recently on "American Inquisitors" at the University of Virginia, gave some good advice to the teachers of the country that might also be accepted by citizens in every walk of life.

Mr. Lippman during his address declared that "teachers will be slaves if they act like slaves." He further stated that "it might be argued that the teaching profession could establish its independence if it were better prepared to stand up and fight." Mr. Lippman stated that he believed that is true and said that he believed "the great body of educators did not realize the power they could exercise if they chose not to endure this perpetual bullying from ignor-amuses."

In other words, Mr. Lippman believes that if the teachers of the country were organized into a great body and dealt collectively instead of individually that they could exercise a great influence over the country.

Continuing, Mr. Lippman said: "Weakness always tempts the bully. If teachers cower they will be bullied. The tragedy and absurdity of the thing is that they could so easily rally a following if they had the imagination to realize how strong they are. If they chose to say they would not endure the intolerable indignities to which they are subjected they would soon command a new kind of respect in the nation."

Mr. Lippman is an intelligent man and his position as chief editorial writer on one of the largest daily newspapers in the world marks him as a conservative

man. We do not believe that Mr. Lippman is especially interested in labor organizations, yet he realizes that if the teachers of this country are to secure any relief from the conditions under which they are forced to labor, that this relief must come from their own efforts.

Taken as a whole, the teachers of the country are the lowest paid class of workers that we have. Some might argue that teaching is a profession, but profession or avocation or any other name that you care to call it, the teachers of the country are wage-earners and are receiving pitifully low compensation for their efforts.

Whenever a man or woman selects teaching as his or her life work there is a certain responsibility attached thereto that the average worker does not have to assume. First comes a peculiar preparation for the job; along with this preparation there must be added a great deal of patience, for patience is a virtue with the teacher. Whether the pupil be a tot just entering the school, is a high school student or is a young man or woman in college, the same amount of patience is required; then there is a certain dignity attached to the teaching profession that is not required of the average job. The teachers are also in a measure barred from many of the everyday affairs of the world; for instance, political activity and the teacher's job do not mix well; just why it is hard to say. Teachers are not supposed to mix in politics too much; if they do they usually do not teach long. So the task of teaching when finally summed up means that the instructors of our children are supposed to teach and accept anything in the way of abuse that parents, superintendents or any of the officials above them care to impose.

Just as the hundreds of craftsmen scattered throughout this land of ours have organized for their protection and for the protection of their fellow workers, so can the teachers. There is an organization of school teachers operating under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor that has thousands of the teachers who had "the imagination to realize how strong they are" as its members. Local organizations of school teachers are to be found in many cities today. Needless to say that the condition of the teachers who are organized and are dealing collectively are much better than those who are "acting like slaves," and the school system in these cities stand at the top round of the ladder.

It is admitted by all that the average teacher has as much if not more influence on the lives of our chil-

dren than do the parents themselves. They take the youngster, teach it the fundamentals of an education; still later as the child grows and develops the teacher imparts the more serious things to the child, and later in college in finishing the education it is the teacher who puts the final touch on the young man or woman and starts them off on their careers.

Just why parents should want their children taught by a class of men and women who themselves are cowed is hard to understand. To give a child confidence and courage, the teacher must have a goodly share of it himself. Still our teachers working under the conditions, for the salaries or wages that they are receiving, cannot be overblessed with either.

The salvation of the teacher is with the teacher. If, as Mr. Lippman says, "the great body of educators would realize the power they could exercise, they would not have to endure this perpetual bullying from ignoramuses." And if they would only awake and use this power the teaching profession would "command a new kind of respect from the nation," and a bigger and better influence would be a gift to our children as a result of this awakening.—Editorial, *Nashville Labor Advocate*.

FOR A CONSIDERATION

Arthur Brisbane's column "Today," which is carried in scores of newspapers, recently contained the following paragraph:

"Every farm should have electric power, at little cost, and would have it if people had brains enough to control their own power supplies.

"However, since they haven't brains enough, they should be thankful for men like Insull and others that supply brains for a consideration."

The investigation of the power trust a short time ago by the Federal Trade Commission would indicate to us that while they can not furnish brains themselves, these interests can find plenty of puppets in our schools and colleges who are willing to mold the brains of children for a consideration.—*Locomotive Engineers Journal*.

When the educational force is criticized in this severe way by a trade union magazine of the character of the *Locomotive Engineers Journal*, shall we not be stirred to greater determination to carry on the fight against propaganda in the schools, and to prove to society that there is one group of organized teachers who will resent this insult to all educators as evidenced by the contemptuous attitude of the Power Trust interests and the general public comment?

It's the First Step That Counts

By FLORENCE ROOD, St. Paul Women No. 28, Vice-President American Federation of Teachers

Early in the school year of 1927-28, the Federation of Women Teachers decided that salaries in Saint Paul must begin an upward trend. No increase had been granted since 1919 and the schedule in effect was shamefully low, which meant not only an injustice to the teachers, but through the gradual loss of good teachers, the ultimate disintegration of the schools.

Owing to the peculiar method of financing the city, a story which is too long to tell, by which an iron-clad tax limit is set for all city expenditures, the establishment of a decent salary schedule will be a long campaign, a campaign of education of the public, and some teachers; and possibly a campaign for the amendment of the city charter to bring about the revision of the tax situation before there will be sufficient money for adequate financing of the schools.

With the Charter Commission of the city at work on a new charter any effort to amend the present one seemed inexpedient. Nor did it appear advisable to undertake any move which meant an increase in taxation. But the Federation of Women Teachers could see no reason why money at the disposal of the city, not otherwise appropriated, should not be placed in the salary budget of the Department of Education for the year 1929, for the express purpose of increasing the salaries of teachers now in the corps.

FIRST STEPS TAKEN

In response to an invitation to attend a conference meeting, delegates from the Federation of Men Teachers and the Principals Club met with the Salary Committee of the Federation and it was decided that the attempt should be made to secure some increase for the year 1929. Further than this no plans were made. The understanding was that this was the first step toward a better salary schedule but time when such a program should be undertaken and the method of carrying it forward were left for later consideration.

One of the first points on which agreement was reached was that the Parent-Teacher Associations of the city, a well-organized group, should be asked to co-operate with the Teachers' Joint Salary Committee. The response from the Council of Parent-Teacher Associations and from the school associations throughout the city was most encouraging. Their delegates, *parents and not teachers*, were seated as members of the committee and their presence and assistance perhaps did more than any other one thing to bring success to the committee's work.

It has never been a very difficult task to show Saint Paul teachers the necessity for paying for what they want. When the teachers returned from the Christmas vacation, they were met by letters from the salary committee announcing its complete organization and its purpose. Salary Letter Number One was soon followed by number two in which a request was made for financial backing and the exact grounds given for the request. Sufficient money was in within a short time that the Salary Committee could go forward with its plans. This method of keeping the teachers fully informed as to progress made was continued throughout the entire time, closing with a letter sent the last week in August to the home address of each teacher announcing the fact that the necessary amount had been placed in the 1929 budget of the Department of Education to provide an increase for every teacher now in the corps, and that it could be used for that purpose alone.

Such a campaign means a number of things.

It means organization, first of all. Unless there are already going groups in existence time is used in the formation of a functioning committee which should have been spent on the work in hand. Organized groups know their workers and do not need to risk the success of their enterprises by trusting them to untied persons.

COMMITTEE UNTIRING

Teachers have too long been satisfied with the dollar-a-year type of association which pays them about twenty-five cents on their investment. When they secured their tenure law Saint Paul teachers found it well worth while to pay for the best of legal advice and a legislative representative of the right sort. The Joint Salary Committee had funds enough to pay for the kind of assistance it needed, some one sufficiently acquainted with city finances to say, "Here is a sum of money for which you can ask. If you are told that it is needed elsewhere, this is the answer." Since the success of the committee's program was dependent on the accumulation of the amount needed by getting all it could from any source of city revenue, the plan of hiring an expert on city financing proved to have been well advised.

But success came, primarily, because the work was in charge of a committee so untiring in its efforts and so determined to gain its point that it was perpetually on the job. It met, week after week. It was wil-

ling to stay in session from five until ten o'clock, after a day in the school-room. It called on newspapers and made visits to the Court House and the Department of Education. It stayed in town all summer and its members, or some of them, were with the necessary

city officers until the dead-line was reached for the time for the submission of the budget to the City Council.

The monetary rewards were small. Net profits will show in a thousand other ways.

Salary Increases In Memphis

By CARLOTTA PITTMAN, *President, Memphis Teachers Association, Local No. 52*

In December, 1927, the Memphis Teachers Association, Local 52, had one of its periodical awakenings to the fact that salaries here were unusually low, and to the more pertinent fact that most of us sorely needed more money. Forthwith we appointed a salary adjustment committee under the able leadership of Miss Elizabeth E. Dix as chairman, and immediately this committee went to work to remedy, in so far as possible, such a state of affairs. After much deliberation they decided—with the approval of the organization—to request a 20 per cent increase.

Among the things which augured well for our prospects was the election last November of a mayor and city commissioners whose platform contained a plank advocating "better pay for teachers." After their first conference with the board of education our committee paid a visit to these newly installed officials, and their hopes rose high during the interview. There was much work to be done by the teachers, however, and the little group, in whose hands Local 52 had placed so important a matter, rose to the occasion nobly. They were indefatigable in their efforts to secure an increase.

COMMITTEE FINALLY SUCCESSFUL

This salary adjustment committee prepared charts which showed Memphis ranked very high commercially as compared with a large number of cities near her size, and even much larger; but almost at the bottom of the list in regard to expenditures for education and for teachers' salaries. These charts they distributed among members of the board of education, the city commission, and in other quarters where they might prove most effective. Our committee also secured the endorsements of civic organizations, including the Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations, which is a power for good in Memphis. And from time to time during our campaign these teachers wrote letters to non-members which brought many of them into our organization.

When school closed in June our committee had had several conferences with the board and with the mayor and commissioners, each time with diminishing

hopes of the immediate success of their undertaking. All our interviews, all our endorsements, and all the favorable publicity which the newspapers had given our cause had failed to secure the definite promise of a salary increase from the board of education. They continued to protest that they were unable to find the funds. Many of the teachers were entirely discouraged, but not the committee. They could see a ray of hope in our contracts which read, "It is understood that no change of salaries will be made during the scholastic year 1927-28." They wondered why the date was not written, "1928-29." And in the late summer their splendid work was rewarded and their hopes were justified.

The Memphis newspapers of August 7 carried the glad tidings of a salary increase which the board of education had voted at its meeting the evening before. Although the schedule is still far from what we requested, we feel elated over our partial success, and even more elated over the fact that our superintendent prophesies a further increase next year.

At present, beginning with the September check, all teachers who are now receiving the maximum will draw \$15 a month or \$180 a year more, and all those not receiving the maximum will receive \$120 additional. Our grammar grade maximum is now \$1800, only \$200 short of the \$2000 minimum for which the American Federation of Teachers stands, and the high school maximum is \$2100.

The next thing on our program is a matter of great importance—a sunset picnic supper in honor of the salary adjustment committee.

"Normal childhood should be as far as possible carefree. Responsibility, care and work have no place during these early years, except as a conscious part of the educative process. Whatever deprives children of this joyous outlook is wrong. Premature employment forces adult burdens upon a child before he is ready for them and thus denies him his heritage of happiness and health. For this reason, if for no other, child labor is wrong."—*Samuel McCune Lindsay.*

Local News

SEATTLE, LOCAL 200

Some progress is being made in Seattle, even if high school teachers are compelled to sign a "yellow dog" contract.

At the last meeting of the local, a constitutional amendment was proposed which would change the name of the local from "Seattle High School Teachers Union" to "Seattle Teachers Union." As none of the members of the union are actively engaged in high school teaching, it seemed inconsistent that the name of the union should seem to restrict the membership to high school teachers. Amendments had been made to include other groups. At present, membership is open to all persons in Seattle or vicinity who are eligible under the national constitution to belong to any local of the American Federation of Teachers.

The local has three major objectives for the current year. First, pressing the appeal from the decision of the local court in the matter of the "yellow dog" clause in the high school teachers contracts. Second, the passage of a tenure law in the State of Washington. And third, a change in the personnel of the school board which inflicted the "yellow dog" clause.

The contract case will probably be heard during the fall or winter by the supreme court of the State of Washington. Our attorneys are preparing the case and will be ready for trial.

The newly nominated State Superintendent of Public Instruction is well known to favor a state tenure law for teachers. A number of candidates for the state legislature have pledged themselves to work for the passage of such a law. Progress is being made in this direction.

The existence of power propaganda in the Seattle schools and the unfair requirement in the high school teachers contracts is making a public opinion which we believe will crystallize at the next school directors election.

The Seattle Central Labor Council and the Washington State Federation of Labor are giving every aid possible to further the local's efforts in all three directions.

Publicity given to the action of the Seattle local in proposing to admit to membership teachers who have not been required to sign the "yellow dog" contract, moved E. Shorrock president of the school board to be quoted as follows: (*Seattle Star*, September 12, 1928).

E. Shorrock, president of the school board, says it has never been decided whether teachers would be expelled summarily if they joined the union after being hired. * * * "It's not a question of unionism," declared Shorrock, "but the undue pressure which the union brought to bear on several teachers, that the board is opposed to."

The first statement is mere bluff, as the union

would be only too glad to have the board discharge a teacher who had not signed a contract with a "yellow dog" clause for the sole reason that he had joined a union. The last statement is at variance with the testimony of another member of the board in the trial last spring who could not "put his finger" on anything specific the union had done, but that the board feared what a group of teachers affiliated with labor might do. Then, the contract specifies that mere membership in the union disqualifies a high school teacher from accepting a position. Mr. Shorrock was answered in this manner by a member of the local.

As one delegate of the Seattle Central Labor Council always ends his weekly report, no matter how serious have been the matters reported upon, "outside of this, Mr. President, we are getting along fine."

W. B. SATTERTHWAITE,
President Seattle Local 200.

SALARY INCREASES

Memphis teachers have secured a 20% salary increase through the efforts of the Memphis Teachers Association, Local No. 52. Read Miss Pittman's account of how it was done on page 29.

St. Paul teachers secured a flat increase of \$5.00 per month through the efforts of the Joint Salary Committee of the Principals' Club, the Federation of Women Teachers, No. 28, and the Federation of Men Teachers, No. 43, E. J. Harrell, Local No. 43, chairman. Favorable public sentiment has been created and further adjustment is expected. See page 28.

Teachers in Fulton county, Ga., schools, Local 183, secured a pay raise through the activity of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

CHICAGO LOCALS 2, 3, AND 199

The Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, Local No. 2, Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, Local No. 3, and the Chicago Elementary Teachers Union, Local No. 199, are planning for next month the biggest social affair that the educational world of Chicago has ever seen. This will be a banquet and reception in honor of Superintendent William J. Bogan. This event will be a demonstration on the part of the teachers and Labor that Superintendent Bogan is recognized as the teachers' friend and Labor's friend.

Superintendent Bogan is well known as a believer in the application of democratic principles in education and in industry. He has long been honored in Chicago as a liberal thinker seeking to promote social justice. The Union teachers of Chicago welcome this opportunity to honor publicly their new superintendent.

Miss Mary C. Barker, president, American Federation of Teachers spoke before the Institute of the Ladies Auxiliary of the International Association of Machinists in Atlanta, September 15, on "Education of Trade Union Children."

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BROOKWOOD LOCAL 189

Over \$12,000 in contributions and \$37,050 in pledges to the building and endowment fund for Brookwood Labor College were announced at a dinner in New York City given recently by alumni of the school. About \$35,000 has also been pledged toward the yearly budget.

International and local labor organizations that have contributed or made pledges include carpenters (2 locals), electrical workers (3 locals), textile workers (4 locals), 3 central labor unions and 1 building trades council, plumbers, sheet metal workers, telephone workers, printing pressmen, machinists, miners, lithographers, and railway carmen. Three women's auxiliaries of the machinists in Canada which had delegates at the Auxiliary Institute at Brookwood last summer have made pledges, as have also the Associated Women's Auxiliary Council of New York.

A week's pay per year for five years has been pledged by all the graduates of the school in New York City. Brookwood students recently gave a play in Baltimore, the proceeds of which are to go to the maintenance of two Baltimore trade unionists at Brookwood next year.

The school is campaigning for funds to enlarge its capacity to 100 students instead of 40 which is the present limit. It was established in 1921 and is the only full time resident labor college in America. Only members of trade unions may attend.

SAN FRANCISCO, LOCAL NO. 61

President Daniel C. Murphy of the San Francisco Board of Education made an address on Monday, April 23, 1928, at 4 p. m., in Room 30, High School of Commerce, on the subject, "A Layman's View of Some Modern Tendencies in Education."

The meeting was under the auspices of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, No. 61, and President Murphy was introduced by Mr. P. J. Mohr, president of the Federation.

Mr. Murphy's speech was a very thoughtful and interesting one, emphasizing the growth and development of the junior high school movement and the progress of San Francisco's wonderful educational program. The ideals and tendencies of our educational system of today were also stressed.

This meeting was an open one and was attended by a large number of San Francisco educators.

MARGUERITE GERTRUDE RODDY.

John Dewey, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, has been appointed by the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, to give the Gifford lectures in April and May, 1929. This lectureship, devoted to national theology and philosophy, was held at one time by William James.

American Federation of Teachers

506 S. Wabash Ave.,
CHICAGO, ILL.

**Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
Organized April 15, 1916**



The American Federation of Teachers desires to establish an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community.

The American Federation of Teachers desires to co-operate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

Our Slogan Is:

Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy

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